

THE
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER,
UNDER THE SANCTION OF
THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Vol. 13. No. 2.—New Series.]

FEBRUARY 1, 1865.

{Price Fourpence Stamped
Threepence Unstamped

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Monthly Summary.

Domestic.—The *Morning Star* states that a treaty of amity, commerce, navigation, and extradition has been concluded between the United States and the Republic of Haiti. The treaty bears date the 3rd of November, and the exchange of the ratifications is to take place before the 3rd of next May. This is a fact of some importance as illustrating the relations which the recent policy of the United States is calculated to establish between them and the Haitian Republic. An additional significance, moreover, may be attached to the fact when we place it in contrast with the policy attempted by Spain in San Domingo.

Captain P. S. Corbett, who commanded the Confederate war cruiser *Shenandoah*, when, under the name of the *Sea King*, she sailed from the Thames in October last, was arrested on the 4th ult. in Liverpool, under a warrant issued by Sir Thomas Henry, the Bow Street magistrate, upon the application of the Government. The warrant charges that Captain Corbett, being a British subject, enlisted, or attempted to enlist, a man named Hartless, also a British subject, in the service of a foreign State, contrary to the provisions of the Foreign Enlistment Act. The police had been for some time on the look-out for Captain

Corbett, and the search had been somewhat difficult. Some days ago Inspector Clark, of the Metropolitan detective force, arrived in Liverpool, where Captain Corbett was believed to be. Since then he was assisted in his search by Inspectors Carlile and Cousens, of the Liverpool detective force. The capture resulted in the end from the recognition of Mrs. Corbett, who was living with her husband in close seclusion, but who had ventured into the streets. Immediately upon his arrest, Captain Corbett was conveyed to the detective office, and Inspector Clark telegraphed to London that he should bring his prisoner up to London by an evening train. The prosecution is conducted by Mr. John Greenwood, solicitor to the Treasury, and Mr. Pollard, barrister, is instructed by Mr. Greenwood; and Captain Corbett's solicitors are Messrs. Hull, Stone, and Fletcher, of Liverpool. Captain Corbett is an experienced sailor, having been twenty-one years at sea. He returned in the *Calabar* from Madeira, after taking out the *Shenandoah*. After two hearings the prisoner has been committed for trial, but been admitted to bail in a large sum.

A very interesting letter was received last week from Bishop Crowther, giving a most satisfactory account of his first expedition up the Niger since he left England in August last. The bishop gives an account of his disposal of many of the gifts he took out with him from Reading, which

have been of the greatest use in forming new missionary stations, and in obtaining a grant of land from the King of the Igara country; they have also been instrumental in reconciling a hostile chief of the Delta, who is now friendly to the missionaries.

Africa.—The *Armenian*, royal mail steamer, from the West Coast of Africa, which arrived at Liverpool on the 10th ult., brought the intelligence of the death of the African traveller, Dr. Baikie, who expired, after a short attack of fever and dysentery (some say it was of Guinea worm), at Sierra Leone, on the 30th of November last. The previous mail brought news that Dr. Baikie, after residing and travelling for six years in the interior of Africa, and after having established a native colony near the confluence of the Niger and the Chadda, had returned to Lagos on the 21st of October, in Her Majesty's ship *Investigator*, which had been up the Niger 400 miles on a cruise. Dr. Baikie intended returning to Liverpool by the last mail; but being obliged to assort and rearrange the accumulations of over six years' travel in an uncivilized country, he was compelled to stay on the coast until the next homeward mail. The deceased gentleman was born at Arbroath, Scotland, and was educated for the medical profession in Edinburgh. He would, at the time of his death, be about forty years of age.

There were 1500 slaves in irons at Whydah ready for shipment. Her Majesty's ship *Zebra* was stationed off the port, and had her boats cruising in search of the expected slave vessel, which is said to be a large steamer, that has made several voyages so successfully, and given the cruisers, upon more than one occasion, such annoyance.

Havanna.—The coolie slave-trade is said to be still carried on largely between Macao and Canton and ports in Cuba, chiefly under the French flag. A recent letter from Havanna declares that the system still prevailing is only the slave-trade in disguise, the coolies being kidnapped from their homes, much as negroes were in former years, and crowded on board ships without proper medical attendance, though, as a general rule, they are well fed during the voyage. The fact that the freight and the skipper's five dollars per head are paid only for those delivered alive, operates as a strong plea in favour of humanity. Nevertheless, of 2600 shipped from Macao last season, 600 are said to have died on the passage from debility, want of opium, fever, &c. On their arrival they are sent to comfortable barracoons in the country, and when pronounced in good condition, their services are sold to planters at prices

ranging from 350 dollars to 600 dollars for each person. The stringent laws regulating this traffic in Cuba are too often evaded by an improper use of money; and as coolies seldom have enough from their monthly stipend of four dollars to pay for a homeward passage at the expiration of their eight years' apprenticeship, the coolie labourer is, after all, little better than the slave of former years. The name is changed, but the practical operation of the system is but little improved. All accounts are pretty well agreed in this. The Cuban Government is said to have under its supervision about 14,000 of these Asiatic labourers at the present time. The French Consul at Canton has recently had a correspondence with the authorities at that port, with the design of securing a better supply of coolies for the French colonies.

Jamaica.—The *Mining Journal* states that the returns of exports, for the last four years, shew that the efforts at adding cotton to the island staples has been attended with success, and promises well for the future, production, though limited, having been progressive. In 1861 cotton was not even set down in the list of exportable articles. In 1862 an export of 1049 lbs. was returned. This increased to 15,352 lbs. in the succeeding year, and to 19,147 lbs. in 1864.

UNITED STATES.—The War.—We stated in our last Summary that probably General Sherman would be heard of ere our periodical issued from the press. Our anticipation has been verified. He reached Savannah on the 18th December, and, after a few days' siege, the city surrendered, Fort M'Allister, fourteen miles from the city, and the key of the position, having been successfully assaulted four days before. The official reports state that his army moved across the State, about 300 miles in 27 days, living on the way on the fat of the land, devastating 42 counties, stripping the country of every thing that could be of service to the rebel armies, destroying 200 miles of railroad, burning millions of dollars' worth of cotton, capturing 4000 prisoners, 10,000 negroes, 15,000 horses, and 30 pieces of artillery; and immediately on arriving on the coast wrested Fort M'Allister from the enemy, and laid siege to the city of Savannah. In the performance of all this murderous work General Sherman lost not one gun or waggon, and his entire casualties were only 1500 men.

He occupied Savannah on the 22nd ult., capturing 150 guns, 30,000 bales of cotton, and 800 prisoners. Hardee escaped with the main body of his army by crossing the river to Union Causeway opposite the city, after destroying the ironclads and navy

guns. Twenty thousand inhabitants remained in the city. Correspondents report that Sherman, having captured Fort Lee and several outworks, demanded the surrender of Savannah on the 21st ult., stating that if refused he would take no prisoners. Hardee refused to surrender, and escaped during the night.

In his proclamation to the people of Savannah General Sherman guarantees protection of private property and the rights of citizens. No oaths are required. The people are simply to conduct themselves as good citizens. Those wishing to go within the Confederate lines can do so. All the civil departments will continue to exercise their functions. The poor will be supplied with provisions. Churches, schools, and places of amusement are to be re-opened and encouraged, and commerce will be allowed to an extent commensurate with the wants of the people.

At a meeting of the citizens it was resolved to lay aside all differences and use their best efforts to restore prosperity; that a strict obedience was due to the laws of the United States, and Mr. Brown be requested to call a convention for the purpose of determining as to a continuance of the war. Copies of the resolutions were to be sent to President Lincoln, General Sherman, Governor Brown, and the mayors of Augusta, Columbus, Macon, and Atlanta.

General Thomas had also completely defeated and routed Hood, at Nashville, Tennessee. The battle took place on the 15th December, and Hood's rout was complete. He lost 17,000 men, of whom 10,000 were taken prisoners, including 6 officers killed and wounded, and 50 guns. This important victory loses the Confederates all hold upon Tennessee. The official reports states that a large naval expedition, commanded by Admiral Porter, to co-operate with a land-force under General Butler, arrived before Wilmington on the 24th December, and the city was subjected to a terrific bombardment. The fleet had experienced very heavy weather, and in consequence of the delay thereby occasioned, the co-operation of the land-force is reported to have been inadequate. The attack having failed, and the Federals having lost five vessels sunk, had fifteen disabled, and Butler's artillery and horses having been thrown overboard to save the transports, the expedition retired. An assault was attempted by General Weitzel, but though he captured two batteries, he could not maintain a position, and withdrew. The expedition had returned to Fortress Monroe, and General Butler relieved of his command.

The armies before Richmond retained

their position, the weather preventing a development of plans.

A draft has been made by the President for 300,000 men.

Congressional. — In the Federal Senate Mr. Sherman had presented a memorial asking for an appropriation for the support of Southern refugees now at the North.

A joint resolution freeing the wives and children of coloured soldiers who have been slaves had been adopted, after a spirited debate, by a vote of 27 against 10.

Mr. Sumner had presented a petition from coloured citizens of New York, asking for the abolition of Slavery in the United States. In the House of Representatives the joint resolution to abolish Slavery by constitutional amendment was debated without result.

Miscellaneous. — The Governor of Kentucky, in his message to the legislature, recommends the gradual emancipation and ultimate removal of slaves from Kentucky.

The Governor of Missouri's message to the Legislature recommends the abrogation of all laws fostering Slavery.

The *Baltimore American* says, the abolition of Slavery in Maryland is being attended with the good results the friends of emancipation expected. A steady stream of emigrants from sister States, particularly Pennsylvania, is pouring in, now that "free labour" has become a settled fact. In every county of the State large sales of land have taken place during the past two months, and the purchasers are men who intend to settle, and who do not purchase for the sake of speculation. The *Denton Union*, published in Carolina County, reports the sale of three farms at good prices, all to Pennsylvanians. The *Somerset Herald* says that "more land is wanted; Northerners continue to visit this county (Somerset) looking for farms." Thus it will be wherever Slavery is abolished. Immigrants will flock in, land rise in value, and the march of improvement begin.

Mr. Dallas, late United States minister in England, is dead. His age was seventy-two. He graduated at Princeton, in 1810, and his first official employment was as Private Secretary to Mr. Gallatin, when Minister to Russia. In 1817 Mr. Dallas was made Deputy Attorney-General of Philadelphia; a few years later, mayor of the city, and in 1829, United States District Attorney. In 1831 he was in the State Assembly, and from 1837 to 1839 he was the American Ambassador to the court of the Czar. Returning home again, he devoted himself to the legal profession until 1844, when, by the Polk and Dallas political campaign he was elected Vice-President of the United States. In 1856,

on the election of Mr. Buchanan to the Presidency, Mr. Dallas was appointed minister to England, and entrusted with the settlement of the central American question. Upon the conclusion of his diplomatic career he retired to private life in his native city, Philadelphia. Mr. Dallas was a gentleman of striking personal appearance. He possessed a polished mind, which, added to natural good sense and a long experience of men and things, gave him a high position among the statesmen of the country.

The Senate has confirmed the nomination of Salmon P. Chase, as Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court.

The following is the form of a petition now being circulated throughout the United States, praying an amendment of the Constitution; copies of which will be left at all principal business houses in Newport and Covington to-morrow:

“To the United-States House of Representatives:

“The undersigned citizens of — respectfully but very earnestly entreat you to pass the Joint Resolution, adopted by the Senate on the 8th April, 1864, proposing to the Legislatures of the several States an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, providing that Slavery shall not exist in the country, and that Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.”

The *Richmond Enquirer* says that General Lee has written to the Military Committee in the House of Representatives of the Confederate Congress in favour of arming the negroes. The *Enquirer* says the experiment should be made, and if independence can be obtained only by the sacrifice of Slavery, we are prepared to make it.

MR. LINCOLN AND THE EMANCIPATION SOCIETY.

THE following is Mr. Lincoln's reply to the address of the *Emancipation Society*, Manchester:

“ Legation of the United States,
London, Jan. 9, 1865.

“ SIR,—By direction of Mr. Adams, I have the honour to transmit herewith a letter from the President, in answer to the resolutions adopted by the *Union and Emancipation Society* of Manchester, with reference to his re-election, which Mr. Adams had the pleasure to receive from you on the 1st of December last.

“ I have the honour to be, Sir,
“ Your obedient servant,
“ BENJ. MORAN, Sec. of Legation.
“ THOS. B. POTTER, Esq., &c., Manchester.

“ To the *Union and Emancipation Society*,
Manchester, England.

“ GENTLEMEN,—I have received from Mr. Adams, and have submitted to the President of the United States, your address of congratulation upon the result of our late national election.

“ I am charged by him to say that the ascertaining of the suffrages and the declaration of the choice of the electors yet remain to be performed by Congress. It would, of course, be presumptuous on his part to anticipate that final declaration by a reply to your felicitations. Nevertheless, the President feels himself at liberty, and under many obligations to thank you for the favourable opinion of his past administration which you have been pleased to express, and for your entire and hearty devotion to the best interests of our country, and the best hopes of mankind.

“ I have the honour to be, gentlemen,

“ Your obedient servant,

“ WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

“ Department of State, Washington,

“ Dec. 22, 1864.”

EMANCIPATION OF SLAVES AND SERFS.

It is a remarkable historical coincidence that Slavery or serfdom, which was introduced about the same time into this Continent and into Russia, should simultaneously have received its death-blow in the spring of 1861. The first shot fired by the Southern traitors at Fort Sumter sounded the knell of Slavery in this country, and precisely at the same time the news reached us that, on March 17th, 1861, the Czar had issued his now celebrated proclamation, emancipating the serfs in Russia. We need not here give details respecting the annihilation of Slavery here. Enough that events have accumulated since the rebellion broke out which have rendered the further existence, even the toleration, of Slavery impossible in any place over which “the stars and stripes” wave now, or will ever wave by right of possession.

The present Czar, as soon as ever the war in the Crimea was over, seriously applied his energies to the emancipation of the serfs. The whole population of the Russian empire is about 74,000,000, in which there were 22,000,000 of serfs. The nobility, after the manner of the boasted “Southern chivalry” of our own South, obstinately opposed the liberation of the serfs. The Czar resolved to carry out his plan, allowed two years for bringing its details into working order, and at last we can report what has been done, so far. Up to last August, nearly all the regulating charters were completed (111,568, out of 111,576), and these referred to estates on which resided 10,001,220 serfs. As many as 4,521,878 of these are now completely liberated from their former masters, and of these nearly one-half (2,133,043), or nearly a tenth of the whole body of Russian serfs, have come into complete possession of the plots of land allotted them, to change them into small proprietary farmers, and 430,702 of these have required no assistance.

from the State. All the country people in the nine western provinces, without a single exception, have become proprietors of the rest of Russia. The province of Kharkof ranks highest in emancipation, for 72 per cent of its former serfs are entirely freed, and are in possession of their grants of land. The per centage varies from 73 in Kharkof to 19 at Smolensk, and 15 in a few remote provinces. In the governments of St. Petersburg and Moscow, where there are a great many nobles, the number of serfs who have become absolute landed proprietors is between 10 and 11 per cent. It was expected that Russian serfdom would be extinct in twelve years from the Czar's proclamation of March 1861, but if the emancipation proceeds at any thing like the ratio which is here reported, there will not be one serf in Russia three years from this time. Alexander II., whose greatness is shown by his goodness, is as much in advance of the other sovereigns of Europe in liberal views as the city of Philadelphia is ahead, in civilization, of the miserable capital of Sonora.—*Philadelphia Press.*

GERMAN EMIGRATION AND COLONIZATION IN CUBA, COMPARED WITH GERMAN EMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES.

FROM THE CONSULAR REPORT OF TITO VISINO, ESQ., TO THE BAVARIAN GOVERNMENT, 28TH FEBRUARY 1856.

Translated from the Munich Gazette, evening edition, Nos. 73, 75, 76, and 77, of the 25th, 27th, 28th, and 29th of March 1856.

Without a few prefatory explanations the following abstract of the Consular Report of M. Visino, on the subject of German emigration to tropical countries, would be certainly misunderstood, and strictures which are applied, and were in fact applicable, to one section of the community, might be taken to comprise the whole. The class of political agitators designated by the writer—though now extinct—was composed of the partisans of the South, and they were decidedly hostile to foreign immigration, because the latter, coming into contact with slave-labour on its own ground, tended to demonstrate the superiority of freedom over Slavery, and assailed it at the one point where it was most vulnerable, namely, its lesser pecuniary advantages. It will be observed, that while speaking of the "United States of North America"—which is correct enough—the writer designates only certain States where the immigrant is exposed to hardships and inconveniences he had no right to expect, and these are Slave States. His stinging diatribes against democracy, originating in the well-known predilection of the old-class German for power approaching to the

despotic, apply to the pro-Slavery democrat with the irresistible force of truth, although at this present time they are blunted of their original pungency, in consequence of the wonderful change the civil war has brought about, in converting the political anti-Slavery man into an Abolitionist, and the pro-Slavery advocate into an anti-Slavery agitator. While, therefore, the valuable information tendered by the author, with reference to the resources which Cuba presents to the European immigrant, are to be viewed with the confidence which should be accorded to the results of a long and intelligent experience, the reader must be warned against falling into the error of concluding that the author's strictures on the results of German immigration into the "United States" are applicable to any but the Slave States, or to them now, in their present stage of transition. Slave labour and its employers must ever be bitterly antagonistic to free labour and free labourers, when these are engaged or are in operation in proximity to them; hence it would not be surprising, as a result of the over-immigration into a Slave State of free labour, that it had enormously enhanced the value of land, had diminished the value of an immigrant—regarding him, as a slave-owner would, merely as a working machine—and had reduced his condition almost to a par with that of the slave, or, indeed, in respect of the means of commanding the material necessities of life, even lower. We are anxious to impress these comments upon our readers, because the paper of the talented philanthropist under review is disfigured by some very severe comments upon the employers of labour in the "Northern States," which, without this intimation from us, would be most unjustly applied to them indiscriminately, far from the writer's intention, and contrary to fact. It must especially be borne in mind that the subjoined report was penned in 1856, when a very different condition of things existed. We have taken the liberty of striking out certain passages not bearing upon the labour question. It will be observed that the writer insists very strongly on the advantages which Cuba offers to the German immigrant, a proof, which can scarcely be over-estimated in value, in its bearings upon the question of free labour, of the availability of white labour for tropical agriculture; and we may add, that although his observations apply specially to the German emigrant, they are equally applicable to any other European.

"THE agitation amongst the North Americans the Know-Nothings, Templars, Temperance, and Nebraska-men, against foreigners, more espe-

cially against the Germans; the present infinitely stronger and more advantageous position of the Anglo-American, compared with that of the modern immigrant; the antipathy of the Northerner to all foreign elements convert that country, formerly celebrated for the liberty afforded to the Germans long resident there, into a 'vale of tears' and terrors, and threaten even the existence of new comers, principally those of small means, to such a degree, that in all probability the Government will very soon be compelled to employ the most energetic measures to hinder the German emigration to the United States of America, with a view to prevent the misery, and the innumerable misfortunes which must necessarily befall many German emigrants, deprived of protection and defence in that remote country; that is to say, if the re-emigration already commenced of so many disappointed Europeans should not convince it that at present, in the United States, they not only repulse with extreme roughness other nationalities, but also make open war against all foreigners, who, in the whirlwind of this agitation, cannot possibly take footing with the slightest hope of retaining it. Therefore German emigration must abandon its old and worn-out path, and seek other homes in the New World, rather than in the United States, where, in spite of every effort, disaster and ruin will be the result.

" Yet why should this torrent of people, so useful to Transatlantic colonies, rush only to the United States? Can it be for a real and positive good, or only the result of an old habit? This question will probably not be answered, and, if it were, not satisfactorily, even by those interested in it with their lives and goods: they simply follow those who have preceded them 'for America.'

" The only object an emigrant can have is undoubtedly the improvement which he hopes to obtain by changing his native country and old domicile against another which promises greater advantages and convenience in every sense of the word. It is therefore a matter of the highest importance, that an emigrant should ascertain whether the proposed new domicile is likely to prove as comfortable and advantageous for him now, as it was twenty or thirty years ago to his predecessors, in order to prevent his making a false step.

" It is entirely a matter of indifference where an honest man works, when he works with a good will and a firm confidence in Divine Providence; but it is not the same if his honest work, in any country, should prove fruitless.

" Experience has of late demonstrated to us, that the German emigrant can no longer keep pace with the energetic Northerner, whose superior *practical* education casts in the shade that of the former; that is to say, the genius of work, of the always reasoning, always correctly cal-

culating Yankee, absorbs the genius of plodding application, which Germans possess in so eminent a degree, and which otherwise would elevate them undoubtedly far above the intelligent but indolent inhabitants of meridional countries.

" The island of Cuba possesses a great abundance of magnificent and fertile soil, but at the same time it has a great scarcity of labourers. The Government, as well as the landed proprietors of this beautiful island, have taken into their serious consideration how to remedy this great obstacle to the increase of national wealth, by means of organizing an immigration of foreign labourers.

" The Spanish Government has granted several concessions in favour of European immigration, which has now become highly interesting as regards the welfare of our emigrants to the far West.

" We shall proceed to draw a comparison between the success which awaits this class of the population in the United States of North America, and that which awaits a similar class in the Island of Cuba.

" For the last half century the torrent of European emigrants to the far West has been almost entirely lost in the virgin forests of North America, where the emigrant has, up to within the last ten or fifteen years, found a good reception from the earlier settlers, who had arrived in a precisely similar condition, destitute of resources in the deserted valleys of Mississippi, Tennessee, Ohio, and Arkansas, and where they had also been subjected to great fatigue, privation, and dangers of every kind. These people, still vividly remembering their own sufferings, failed not to take into consideration the urgent necessity of restoring and augmenting their operative powers by means of vigorous new comers, for as agriculture became every day more productive, and good labourers in greater demand, more especially as the great centres of commerce, industry, and American traffic were being crowded with a mercantile and an industrial people, whose rapid progress increased the consumption of all kinds of products.

" But very soon after, the purchase of cheap land became a general speculation; the settlers possessing the means bought up all the lands surrounding the towns, and also that close to rivers and roads; the peasant became rich, and hardened like his dollars, and the last emigrant an unhappy victim of cold and heartless calculation.

* * * * *

" The proud Northerner of the present day looks down on the poor immigrant, like a Nabob of the Indies does on the Pariah of his country. Only for what the man possesses, and for that only, is he of value to him, and not a cent more. Although we suppose that now no more negroes are imported from Africa into any one of the

States of the North, we believe that the condition of the slaves of the Spanish West Indies (slaves who cost their masters from 600 to 1000 dollars each, or even more, and who are consequently well fed and clothed, and generally well treated, this being to the interest of their owners), must appear, in some respects, even enviable, when compared with that of the poor free immigrants in the North of America. It therefore appears that there is no other path open to those who refuse to submit to the hardest and most dangerous labour (for comparatively small wages), but to wasting their energies and strength away, either working as navvies in the seaports, or in the cities, or gaining their sustenance in distant deserts, where neither their lives nor their goods are safe, either by day or night, from the attacks of wild beasts or barbarous Indians. A great many of them disappear, without leaving the smallest vestige behind, both unaccounted and uncared for, after having succumbed to misery and misfortune; others join the ranks of volunteers who enlist, under the organization of Government, or private expeditions, forming after such undertakings are at an end—during which they have lost entirely the habit and love for regular work—the main part of that dangerous body of discharged soldiers, whose excesses become generally so pernicious to the country and to foreigners. Besides all the disadvantages which the United States of North America now offer to the immigrant, there is another danger, viz. the terrible movement which is preparing the separation of the Free States from those of the South, on the question of Slavery, by a devastating civil war, whose disasters will be so much the more serious for both sides, as warlike elements of the most destructive character are at the full command of both. What will happen, then, to the poor foreigners, in those regions of so-called liberty, when this reign of terror, oppression, pillage, and violence begins? We should not in our conjectures like to guess at the terrible consequences likely to result, and for which there is no remedy, as the sword is hanging by a hair over the glorious standard of Washington, and threatens to tear to pieces both its stars and stripes.

“ Men, however, generally escape in one way or other from the dangers and disappointments of life, and learn to bear up with its alternations in the best way possible; but the lot of women and girls is unfortunate in the highest degree. Without wishing to designate the great dangers which await and surround women in the United States of America, or to dwell upon the traffic and speculation with free people, which aims more particularly at the corruption and ruin of foreign women, it is sufficient for the attentive and close observer to see the revolting scenes—scenes of the most profound degradation and

humiliation of the women,—which occur so frequently. The horrors of this abominable traffic have been stigmatized universally by so many Americans, that it cannot be attributed to the interest or partiality of certain foreigners, or to the ignorance of others.

“ From the foregoing, it may be easily imagined that the advantages obtained by individuals cannot counterbalance the many losses of the great mass of emigrants to North America; and it is certain, if they would employ as much labour, industry, and economy, in Europe, as they are now forced to do in America, in order to secure their subsistence, they would fare better in their own native country, enjoying all their old and home comforts, than they would now do in the United States.

“ Quite different from this is the island of Cuba as regards the conveniences for German emigration.

“ This beautiful island, with her incomparably fertile soil, now feels the want of good labourers; the old antipathy to foreigners has quite disappeared, as their useful activity has become known: enlightened authorities, to whom is entrusted the government of that privileged land, secure to the immigrant, work, wages, protection, and assistance, and, at the same time, the incomparable and valuable products of her rich vegetation, guarantee to the cultivators a much larger profit than that which they could gain in any other country.

* * * * *

“ Having been occupied for many years with the idea and intention to open to German emigration the wide plains of that fertile island, we have had occasion to examine, by a long practical experience of the cultivation and products of tropical localities, the observations and investigations of the most eminent economists, relating to aliment, profits, and traffic for a much larger population, and have found that their comparative calculations of the production of eatables, and of the astonishing productiveness of the soil, compared with that of an equal surface of land in Europe and North America, are nothing less than mistaken or exaggerated.

“ In virtue of present arrangements made in Cuba for the German emigrant who goes to that country with the firm intention to establish himself there, and to employ his activity, usefully for himself as for others, from the day of his arrival he may depend on obtaining protection, work, and corresponding remuneration for his labour. The large proprietors of uncultivated land, cede or rent to immigrants their land on very liberal terms.

“ Therefore it would be very desirable that this highly important question of German emigration to the island of Cuba should be taken into consideration, and carried into effect by the respective Governments of the Germanic Con-

federation, as a measure of general utility, and of the highest importance to this class of the German people.

" In consequence of the progressive advantages which are offered to-day by the meridional countries of America over those of the North, a prompt solution of this highly important question, and a change of the actual pernicious plans of emigration by reorganization, would prove most desirable. Immigrants would then have no longer to trust merely to good fortune their lives and goods, with the uncertain hope of a rare success, or with the much more frequent alternative of ruin; and, on the other hand, the island of Cuba would receive the good labourer with pleasure, offering him all the necessary means of accommodation for his settlement, supposing that the emigration to the far West be always continued for want of subsistence at home.

" Emigration, in general, must ever be considered as an evil, although almost always as one of the necessary evils to which society may be subject, for many reasons. The precarious advantages as well as the material disadvantages of emigration in general, and the losses and sorrows originating to so many emigrants in particular, are too well known and recognised to admit of over-sanguine hopes and illusions. The emigrant of to-day too well knows that he will be obliged to work as much, and with as much application, in the new world as in the old, in order to better his actual depressed position, or to become rich. The effects of this conviction have been already very clearly felt, in such a way that in future there will be no fear of eagerness for emigration without some very urgent motives. But if urgent necessities exist—if the labour and economy of a man are no longer sufficient to protect him against poverty and misery—in that case certainly it will be better for himself, as well as for his native country, if he remove to other lands, where, on account of less competition in operative and productive strength, or favoured by local circumstances, a positive improved future awaits him, because there his industry will be well rewarded.

" Spain gives us the clearest evidence of the reciprocal advantages which accrue to the emigrant who goes from Spain and to his native country, from the greater comfort and wealth these colonists acquire, amongst whom there are persons of considerable, and even very large fortunes. Neither a civil war of many years' duration, with all its continuous and systematic devastations; nor long-continued mutual exactions, so fatal to both of the combatants, nor the little security for persons or property, which, during that lamentable state of things, oppressed the country; nor the consequent abandonment and decay of agriculture and industry, as well as labour in general; in fact, not all those elements of destruction which were at work during so many

years, to the desolation of the country, so highly gifted by nature, could bring the Spanish peasant to poverty—the peasant who also bore the greatest weight of that disastrous war—nor could they ruin him permanently; because the more or less considerable capital of the enriched emigrants who had gone back from the Spanish colonies to the native villages, maintained constantly the well-being of the peasantry.

" In no part of Spain was misery less visible than in the country, and among the peasants. This great wealth, with such little work, was an enigma for the travellers of those days; but to the attentive observer this visible prosperity is very naturally explained by the continued ingress of capital brought or sent to the paternal home by enriched emigrants, or inherited by the Spanish peasants from their deceased relatives in the Spanish Americas, or in the Philippine Islands.

" Besides other great advantages, we should obtain, by the aforesaid colonization, a considerable augmentation and improvement in the agricultural products of Germany, and a larger consumption of her products abroad.

" The price of national food—the bread of the people—is now a question of political economy, which is every day becoming more important for Europe. The old world, in comparison with tropical countries, the West Indies, &c., grows very few vegetables, roots, and tubers, as substitutes for bread, or pure bread-stuffs, for, besides their slow growth, they are subject to frequent diseases, as, for instance, potatoes; and it would be very desirable to procure, for cultivation and acclimation on European soil, those fine products of speedy growth and abundant yield of tropical countries colonized by European labourers. There the German colonist would learn practically the cultivation of those rich and varied tropical fruits, (which are no more difficult to acclimatize than the potatoes grown in European soil), and would augment in this way the supply of national food for Germany.

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" This summer plant, produced in Germany from fine Cuba seed, ('Semilla de la Vuelta de Abajo,') gives an equal product, viz. the same green leaves as in the island of Cuba; and the great difference in the dried leaf, in quality and value, which exists between our German tobacco and the tobacco-leaf of Cuban growth is owing only to incomparably more careful and artistic manipulation during the drying process. Therefore it only depends on ourselves to produce the same quality article. We think it would be well worth while to make at least the trial.

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" A long experience of upwards of twenty-five year's residence in the island of Cuba has shewn us clearly the falsity of this assertion, put forth either in error or with false and depraved intentions. It is a well-known fact, that of all the West-Indian Antilles the island of Cuba enjoys the finest and healthiest climate. The temperature at noon, even on the coast, varies from 12° to 24° Reaumur in the shade. The nights are generally cool, and in the interior of the island, where the temperature is always about 2° or 3° lower during the night, sometimes very cold. We have never experienced in Cuba such oppressive heat, nor known it there so high as in Italy, Spain, Provence, and some other European countries. This phenomenon, however, is easily explained by the long and narrow shape of the island, its situation on the confines of the tropics, and the daily cool breezes which come from the snowy chains of the Cordilleras of the Andes and the Alleghanies.

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Let us consider besides, the great number of foreign merchants, brokers, artisans, journeymen, muleteers, cartmen, boatmen, sailors, omnibus drivers, conductors, &c., generally all of foreign origin, or foreigners, who there, dressed in light clothing, work with greater ease and agility than in Europe or in North America. And finally, let us consider the foreigner, exposed to

the sun at mid-day, or in the shade, engaged in all kinds of difficult and arduous work, in which the negro, from his natural awkwardness, is generally unserviceable, or totally unfit. Considering all these incontestable evidences, we cannot be too much surprised at the strange assertion, that 'the negro is not the only one who can work advantageously in that climate.'

" Any one who knows the country, and the work done in Cuba, or one who has only partial knowledge on this point, will agree with us, 'that very few negroes are capable of bearing the fatigue of the aforesaid trades, in which the well-conducted foreigners are engaged, without notable detriment to their health.'

" If it were necessary to affirm our conviction by stating other facts, in which many European farmers have cultivated their lands, and produced such an amount as could not be obtained with the joint labour of twelve times as many negroes, we could state their names and domiciles.

" But these facts are not necessary for the affirmation of our conviction, as we have this very evidence in the example of the neighbouring island of Porto Rico, situated further to the South, and in a much warmer temperature, which evidence completely destroys and puts an end to all the sophistical assertions of the parties interested in the African slave-trade.

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" The simple cause of this prosperous state of the island of Porto Rico is the wise law of King Ferdinand the VIIth of Spain, dated August 10, 1815, by which European emigrants were admitted on her fertile soil. In consequence of this beneficial decree, immigration into Porto Rico began to a considerable extent. Porto Rico contained then not more than from 36,000 to 40,000 negroes. The slave gave way to the energetic white settler, who prospers there as well as elsewhere, 'and so much so, that in many very extensive plantations not a single slave is to be found, because all the works and cultivations are carried out with the greatest success by white, or free coloured men.'

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"We venture again to pronounce our opinion, 'that the island of Cuba would appear to be one of the most advantageous spots for German emigration, as much for its own benefit as well as for its useful connections with the native land;

and therefore the conditions on which these immigrations are to take place should be agreed upon with the Government of Her Catholic Majesty of Spain.'

" The first of these conditions should be by covenant modifying the old decree, by which none but Catholic persons were admitted in Spanish countries. This law, although in existence, of course is not put in force, although amongst the many thousand foreigners, composed of Germans, Englishmen, Highlanders, Danes, Swedes, Russians, North Americans, and other foreigners residing, or domiciled for many years in the island of Cuba, as well as in other Spanish countries, only very few Roman Catholics are to be found.

" Neither of the authorities, civil or ecclesiastical, ever carried out this law, which, however, *exists* without formal revocation, as it was founded on an old Concordat with Rome; besides which the clergy in Cuba are very enlightened and tolerant. No one at present remembers the existence of such a law against non-Catholics. But this law does exist, and it would be always advisable to secure for the immigration by means of special negotiation, the tolerance allowed up to this time in that island. In the agreement which the High Germanic Confederation might carry out with Spain, with respect to German emigration to the island of Cuba, no subvention or sacrifices ought to be asked of the Spanish Government, but only the protection and the maintenance of all the rights of immigrants by their masters, landed proprietors, farmers, the people in general, and by the inferior authorities, &c.; although they have imposed and collected, for many years past, very large sums for the special object of encouraging and facilitating the immigration of white settlers in the island of Cuba. A good German immigration only requires protection against those dangers which the foreigner is exposed to without some assistance from the Governments.

" In this agreement, or covenant, ought to be stated, word for word, what was promised in the royal decree of the 21st October 1817, viz. 1st. The free introduction of the goods and chattels, agrarian instruments, &c., of the immigrants. 2nd. Perpetual exemption from the duty of capitulation (i.e. an annual contribution by each person), and of any personal taxation, or contribution with personal labour, or work. 3rd. Exemption, during the first fifteen years of their being domiciled in the island of Cuba, of a tithe on their products; and that, after the first fifteen years, the immigrants should only be bound to pay two and a half per cent. as a tithe, instead of the usual ten per cent. paid by other planters. 4th. Exemption during the first fifteen years from the Alcabala of six and a half per cent. (duty on all sales and purchases), and after the first fifteen years that the immigrants should only be

liable to two and a half per cent. of Alcabala duty, instead of the usual six and a half per cent. paid by the other inhabitants. And 5th, The express condition, that during the period of fifteen years the purchase and sale of lands, manufactures, buildings, and goods, that the Governments, corporations, societies, or the Commissioners of Emigration might acquire for the colonists, or colonies, should enjoy the same advantages as before mentioned. 6th, Ample and perfect protection to all persons immigrating, as well as to their property, as it has been offered to them in all recent decrees, as well as in former ordinances.

" Immigration into Cuba can be carried out in the most convenient manner for the different classes of immigrants, which are generally composed of, 1st, *Farmers*, who emigrate *at their own cost*, either buying or hiring lands, in order to cultivate them *on their own account*. It would be the care of the Commissioners of the emigration to obtain these for them on the most favourable conditions, and in the healthiest spots of the island. 2nd, *Labourers*, who emigrate *at their own expense*, to occupy themselves either on joint account, or for stipulated salaries, payable every month, or when the crops are gathered, or by periods, in the works and labours of societies, or on plantations of cotton, tobacco, coffee, &c. The contracts with these immigrants ought to be entered, in order to avoid further misunderstanding, only through the intervention, and the exact record of the agent of emigration.

" 3rd, *Journeymen*, who with some society, corporation, manufacture, or establishment, have entered into contract '*in Europe*', engaging themselves for the space of five or more years to perform some specially stipulated work for free passage and maintenance from the day of their embarkation, wages monthly paid, food, clothing, and lodging, according to the usage of the island, &c., being subject to the decree of the 23rd December 1853, ratified on the 22nd of March 1854.

" *Note*.—We recommend labourers in general to make themselves thoroughly acquainted with the use of all the perfected agricultural instruments, particularly of the different ploughs; because salaries will depend entirely on the more or less ability of the workman, and of getting their work done in more or less time.

" 4th, *Labourers and journeymen*, who, organized in Europe to form a colony on account of a Government, or a society, should emigrate with all their implements to the island of Cuba. 5th, *Journeymen, artisans, miners, servants of both sexes*, who emigrate either on their own account, or on account of a corporation, or some society, and who engage themselves, either on their own account, for manufactures, establishments, colonies, or private individuals, either on joint account or on hire.

"To this class belong, with preference, tobacconists, of both sexes, female cooks, and washer-women, coachmen, jockeys, mechanics, carpenters blacksmiths, locksmiths, masons, smelters, coach-builders, saddlers, sawyers, charcoal, chalk, and brick workers, potters, tailors, shoemakers, and all other useful and indispensable trades.

"The brickmakers, potters, lime and cement burners, ought to be intelligent in the construction of their respective furnaces, as well as their machines, and the manufactures of ornamental bricks and tiles of all kinds of cement and terracotta, for floors, walls, and ceilings; for without this they could not compete with the Americans, who manufacture all these articles with great perfection, and at comparatively low prices; and, finally,

"6th, *Labourers* for tobacco, cotton, and coffee plantations, *artisans* and *constructors*, who, for their free passage, maintenance, clothing, and lodging for one year, from the day of their arrival in the island of Cuba, would receive by families, or groups of two, four, or eight persons in each settlement or house, a lot of fertile ground, namely one or two caballerias of land (circa 36 or 72 English acres of land), with cottage, furniture, agricultural implements, seeds, plantations, domesticated and working animals, as fowls, sheep, cows, and horses, mules, and oxen, which chattels and property will belong, or be delivered to them, after one year's residence in the colony, and remain for themselves or their heirs under formal deeds, with the condition that, at the value of the estate in the second year, they should secure five per cent annually by mortgage, but with liberty, when their estates increased in value, to mortgage it a second time for the surplus over and above the value of the first mortgage.

"It is very important that the immigrants should be in the proportion of at least half women and girls, as in the first years of the establishment of a colony in Cuba we would not advise the colonists or new settlers to intermarry with natives, until such time as the manners and customs of the different nationalities become more assimilated in many points, which are so necessary for the happiness and comfort of German domestic life.

"Idle and dissipated people, as well as old and infirm persons, are totally useless in these colonies, and the prosperity and comfortable existence of the new settlers, can only be secured by steady work, honest industry, and good conduct.

"This last class of colonization ought to be particularly recommended to the European Governments, advising them at least to make a trial on rather a large scale, which would, no doubt, in a short time give a strong proof of its great mutual advantage for it is a well-known fact, that no country in the world yields larger

or richer crops than the fertile soil of the island of Cuba.

Our author proceeds to enter most minutely into the cost and prospects of a settlement of immigrants in companies or colonies. As he is a gentleman of vast experience, and trustworthy as an authority, we do not venture to dispute the accuracy of his data; but as our object is foreign to this part of the question, we pass it over. Our purpose will be accomplished if we can promote the belief, upon such excellent authority, that white labour is available for tropical agriculture, and that there is absolutely no foundation for the assertion that negro labour is indispensable to its profitable prosecution.

WHAT IS TO BECOME OF THE BLACKS?

THE Hon. Samuel Hooper was answered this question in a speech before the Republicans of Ward Nine, in Boston, as follows:

"To those who ask what is to become of the blacks when Slavery is abolished, and who affect an apprehension that the present Free States of the North may be overrun with them, I would recommend the report of Mr. Conway, the superintendent of free labour in Louisiana, recently made to General Canby, on the results of the system. He says, in his report, that there are sixty free schools, with one hundred teachers and eight thousand scholars; that the number of blacks employed on plantations is about 35,000, of whom about one-fourth are first-class hands, receiving wages at eight dollars per month, besides board, clothing, medical attendance, schooling for their children, and one acre of ground, worth five hundred dollars, to raise cotton. The wages paid to the labourers, he says, is, as a whole, more remunerative than has been ordinarily paid to farm hands in the North who work by the year.

"At the close of the present year there will be an average of about fifty dollars due to each one of the 35,000, in addition to their little crop of cotton, corn, sugar, potatoes, &c., which will average to each more than is due them for wages. There are, besides, 15,000 of whom he has no return, and 30,000 in the city of New Orleans, making a total of 80,000 blacks, there who are working for wages under the educational and labour system established by General Banks in Louisiana. Is it at all probable that any of those labourers would be inclined to leave their occupation at the South to come among us in the cold climate of the North, to which they are not accustomed, and to a colder welcome from the prejudices existing against them here? In my opinion, when Slavery no longer exists at the South, there will be two coloured men go South from here to every one that comes North from there.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1865.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

We beg to call the attention of our friends in general, and of subscribers to the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* in particular, to the notice which has appeared in our last two Numbers, respecting the gratuitous issue, in future, of our periodical, to all Annual Subscribers to the Society's funds of Ten Shillings and upwards, from and after this present second of January. This resolution has been taken by the Committee, as a means of promoting the circulation of their record of the Society's operations, and of anti-slavery proceedings generally, at home and abroad. It is hoped that the new arrangement will be everywhere acceptable, and that efforts will be made by the friends of the cause, to extend its advantages into as many fresh quarters as possible. Subscribers to the Society's funds, are respectfully urged to forward to the Editor, the names and full addresses of persons likely to take an interest in anti-slavery matters. As the issue of the *Reporter* will, under these circumstances, entail an additional annual loss, our friends are earnestly solicited personally to exert themselves to help the Society's funds, by obtaining additional subscribers to the same. We also beg to intimate that the *Reporter* will hereafter be issued unstamped, except specially ordered otherwise.

Actual Subscribers to the *Reporter* only, and not also to the Society's funds, are respectfully informed that they will be supplied as usual, and that their Subscription is due, in advance, on the 1st of January every year.

All communications to be addressed to the Secretary of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, No. 27 New Broad Street, E. C., London; and Post-office Orders may be made payable to him, at the Post-office, Moorgate Street, E.C.

THE PRESIDENTIAL VOTE.

In another column we give, from the Almanac published by the *New-York Tribune*, what is styled "the full vote for the President;" in other words, the complete election returns, exhibiting the number of votes cast for Abraham Lincoln, on the occasion of the recent Presidential canvass. It will be seen that, as compared with 1860, he had a majority of 131,889. The entire vote for all the Presidential candidates in the former year, including all the Southern States, was 4,680,193. This last

year, the Southern States did not vote, yet 4,000,505 votes were recorded, of which Mr. Lincoln obtained 2,203,943, as against 1,796,562 polled for Mr. McClellan. The votes, as compared State for State, for 1864 as against 1860, shew an actual majority for Mr. Lincoln of 407,381, but as in certain States he then was in a minority of 139,570, his real actual majority is equivalent to 546,951. We refer our readers to the extract from the *Tribune*, for a few other interesting details, our purpose being to direct attention to certain features which the recent election has eliminated, and which are of exceeding value as indications of the advance of public opinion in the United States, on the great question which has really caused the present war.

It must ever be borne in mind that the President represents, for the time being, such a majority or such a minority, as entitles him to be regarded, for the time being, as the exponent of the views of the people. Until the free-soil party arose, no division of opinion on the Slavery question existed which manifested itself at the polls, notwithstanding the existence of parties or factions, each having its distinctive political shibboleth. The pro-slavery party ruled absolute, and its dicta were accepted by its adherents in the North, and by that dangerous and large class, which, without decided convictions of its own, acquiesces in the state of things as they are, too often thereby giving strength to wrong. The first real alarm of the pro-slavery party arose in 1856, on the occasion of the nomination of Fremont for the Presidency, when the original elements of the Free-soil party had consolidated themselves and assumed the title of Republican. Fremont was defeated, and Buchanan was elected, but the victorious party saw enough to frighten it, and the election of 1860 was looked forward to with anxiety by both parties. Hitherto united on a common pro-slavery ground, in 1860, the South split itself into three divisions, on minor points, although united on the main one, of fidelity to Slavery. The real issue was not between the pro-slavery candidates, but between them, *en masse*, and the Republicans, represented by Lincoln. For the second time—but now in formidable strength—Liberty confronted Slavery, and all felt that the struggle would inaugurate a new era for the country; that either the pro-slavery party would acquire a new lease of power, and proceed to fasten Southern institutions upon the country, or that these would receive a severe, probably a fatal blow. The result fully justified the anticipation. Mr. Lincoln was elected, and the people, by him declared, that the Fugitive Slave Law should be abolished; that

from the district of Columbia and from all places under Congressional jurisdiction, Slavery should be extirpated ; that no more leniency should be shewn to slave-traders ; in other words, that the slave-trade, as carried on under the United States' flag, should be put down, and that for ever, and from all the territories then in, or that might thereafter come into, possession of the United States, Slavery should be prohibited. Upon this declaration of principles and policy the Republican party polled the nation and carried its candidate.

Had the pro-slavery party been content to accept its defeat, it is almost certain the Republicans could not have carried out more than their programme, if even they had been able to obtain acceptance for a fair portion of it. There remained one field of battle in the House of Representatives, and another in the Senate, in either of which a resolute pro-slavery phalanx, aided by the out-door machinery the party is so skilful in putting into motion, might have paralysed the Government, perhaps have defeated it ; and it was not impossible that in the interval of four years the party might have been re-constructed and consolidated, and the Republicans again compelled to "bide their time." The latter would, no doubt, have also acquired strength during the same interval, but many years might have elapsed ere it changed from Republican to Abolitionist, as it had already varied from Free soil to Republican, ere it had ventured to set up a "platform" on the basis of "an Amendment to the Constitution for the abolition of Slavery in all the States of the American Union." It is well for freedom that the result was different, though it has been at a sacrifice of life which makes humanity shudder. The South defeated, constitutionally defeated, resolved to rebel, and did. Four years war has been waged between the two sections, and the period of another election comes round. This time the rump of the pro-slavery party, mis-calling itself Democrat, erects a platform in favour of prosecuting the war to the extinction of the rebellion, while declaring itself averse to meddling with the question of Slavery ; in other words, it offers, as a condition of peace, to concede to the South the actual thing it has been fighting for. On the other hand the Republicans, though divided on simple personal grounds, are united on the main purpose to be accomplished, and inscribe on their banner the words "Union and Emancipation." Upon these two issues the respective parties poll their countrymen, with the result known. The re-election of Mr. Lincoln is therefore a

most important event, not as marking the triumph of a party, but the victory of a great principle, and there is no doubt that the proposed Constitutional amendment will be carried, and Slavery be utterly and for ever abolished throughout the Union.

Recent events have brought out some curious facts. In Louisiana, in the parishes controlled by the Government, from 1852 up to 1863, the ordinary vote of the people was from 15,000 to 16,000 ; yet upon the question of the organisation of the State government, in these identical parishes, the people in 1863 gave 12,000 votes ; the difference being, with all the frauds which distinguished and characterised Louisiana politics before, only 3000 or 4000 at the outside. Further, instead of these people having the aid of the army and of the Government of the United States, they had the substantial opposition of both. Yet this Convention declared that Slavery was abolished in the State of Louisiana, without consideration of compensation or time.

Another fact is, elicited by a reference to the official returns of the Presidential election for the State of Kentucky, shewing that the extreme eastern and western counties have given large votes for Lincoln. In the counties of Ballard, Graves, Hickman, McCracken, and Fulton, of "Jackson's Purchase," the vote stands : Lincoln, 1944 ; M'Clellan, 1917. In the eastern sweep, from Lewis, on the Ohio river, to Knox, on the Tennessee border, these two counties, with Estill, Greenup, Laurel, Lewis, Pulaski, Owsley, Whitley, and Rockcastle, gave Lincoln 5347, M'Clellan 2551. By the census of 1860 the five western counties held 8628 slaves, and the ten eastern counties only 3769. McCracken and Ballard, the two counties at the mouth of the Ohio river, owned as many slaves as the entire designated ten counties in the eastern part of the State. The opposition of the extremities of this State point to one certain fact—the State is divided in opinion, and the division is becoming more apparent every time an election is held, and it may be confidently anticipated that no great length of time will elapse before Kentucky, as a whole, will declare for freedom. Under any circumstances, the signs are most hopeful, and as the Southern party is gradually driven, the friends of emancipation will be stimulated to renewed effort, wherever a nucleus in favour of abolition exists.

SPAIN AND SAINT DOMINGO.

We do not like to charge our columns with long documents, but occasions arise when it becomes necessary to do so, otherwise

our *Reporter* would lose its distinctive character as a record of evidence relating to the anti-slavery question.

On the treachery of Santa Anna, President of Santo Domingo when Spain resumed possession of it, we commented at length at the time of the re-annexation, demonstrating, from official evidence, that the alleged movement in favour of it was not popular, but very much the reverse. Revolt immediately followed the act, if this term can properly be applied to a people who take up arms to resist a lawless aggression upon their rights and their independence. The attempt to subjugate the Dominicans has resulted in an enormous sacrifice of wealth, on the part of Spain, and of a large number of lives. The folly of persisting in the policy of subversion has at length made itself felt at Madrid, and the new Spanish Minister has recently taken the decisive course of proposing to the Cortes a Bill for the repeal of the Decree of the 19th of May 1861, by which Saint Domingo—the name of so much of the island of Haiti which formerly constituted the Dominican Republic—was re-incorporated with the Spanish monarchy.

We believe it desirable, in the interests of the African race, that the Dominicans and the Haitians, like the Liberians, should themselves work out the problem of self-government; and to effect this successfully foreign interference is to be deprecated, even strenuously opposed; first, on the broadest possible grounds of sound policy; and, secondly, because its direct tendency is to create jealousies of race, and to promote antagonisms inimical to habits of self-reliance. A people emerged from Slavery have extraordinary difficulties to contend against, of which political divisions are not the least. “A house divided against itself cannot stand;” nor can a nation. To all intents and purposes the people of Haiti—applying the term to the whole island—are essentially one; and we entertain the conviction that prosperity and permanent peace is not to be hoped for without political unity. An undivided, well-governed negro republic, in immediate proximity to the United States, would have as great a moral value as an example in the West, as Liberia presents in the East, notwithstanding many shortcomings. Perhaps the abandonment by Spain of Saint Domingo may cause the Dominicans to review their position, and friendly advice may open the way for a consolidation of their institutions by a re-incorporation of themselves with the Haitians.

We abstain from commenting upon the elaborate arguments contained in the preamble to the Bill which Marshal Narvaez has presented to the Cortes. As Spain

proposes to abandon a wrong course, it is wisest not to examine too critically the defence it sets up for having accepted the offer of re-incorporation. We will try to believe the Government of the day was really misled on the subject of the real sentiments of the Dominicans, and hope that the course now adopted is the result of the highest considerations of justice, and not merely the consequence of a conviction of actual failure and of the impossibility of future success. In this spirit we subjoin a translation of the text of the Bill, less its superfluities of Spanish style. Our private advices from Madrid lead us to infer that the measure will be accepted:

TO THE CORTES.

“In the old Spanish island, the first land of the western world, which Christopher Columbus considered worthy of an important establishment in that great Antille where, years after its separation from the metropolis, not a drop of Spanish blood was shed, it now flows, and a pestiferous climate aiding the enemy, makes terrible ravages in the ranks of our valiant soldiers.

“This sanguinary struggle, which is attended by the disadvantage of profitlessly expending the public treasure and consuming the products of our colonial possessions, was not provoked by attempts to carry out an ambitious war of conquest, so opposed to the rational, just, pacific, and disinterested policy so long observed by Spain. Neither by the necessity of repelling foreign aggressions at any cost, considering only the defence of insulted honour. This cruel struggle commenced the day following that on which Her Majesty’s Government believed that all the inhabitants of the Dominican Republic solicited to be re-incorporated with the Spanish nation, and to form one of its provinces, aspiring to the happiness enjoyed by those of Cuba and Puerto Rico.

“Such a desire might not be certain, but it was very probable. The Government, actuated by these sentiments, had faith in those which appeared to inspire the Dominicans, and therefore accepted their votes, and counselled Her Majesty to effect the annexation which this state professed so ardently to desire.

“On this account Ministers described this event as auspicious, highly honourable for Spain, and one not often met with in the annals of peoples. After referring to the lamentable history of Santo Domingo since the proclamation of its independence in 1821—following the example of other provinces of the American continent—after drawing the sad picture of prolonged misfortune, of a state of things in which the source of public and private wealth were exhausted, independence completely lost for want of strength to maintain it, liberty no less lost through the insecurity felt by the citizens, and the continual agitation of the Republic, the Ministers invoked every sentiment of justice, humanity, and honour, in advising the annexation of this unhappy island. They believed such a measure was all the more desirable, considering the circumstances and character of its inhabitants, the fertility of its soil, and the strong attachment which the people—after past

excesses, whereby they had been terribly abused — professed towards their ancient metropolis.

"The annexation was thus founded upon just and weighty reasons. The first was the right inherent in the unanimous will of a people; a right not disputed, and previously affirmed by the general assent of the nations of Europe and America in a recent case; the second, was a sense of duty and humanity towards the unfortunate people who sought favour and mercy, overwhelmed as they were by disaster and misfortune. No other right supported, nor supports, the Spanish Government in holding the Spanish portion of the island of Santo Domingo; neither the right of re-vindication nor the right of conquest, both being opposed to the policy of the Government: but solely the interests of the people, and the friendly relations which Spain has always endeavoured to maintain with the Independent States of America, which once formed part of the immense territory protected by the tutelary mantle of the kings of Spain.

"Such flattering hopes soon disappeared; symptoms soon manifested themselves that the annexation had not that spontaneous and unanimous support upon which it had been alleged to be based. Nevertheless, it was the duty of the Government to ascertain whether those violent protests, several times repressed, proceeded only from a discontented few, or were the expression of the feeling of a people who rejected the legitimate power they had invoked in a time of trouble and distress. The agitation increased, and gained towns and frontiers, extending over the whole of the territory; and at this day the Spanish portion of the island of Santo Domingo presents to the civilized world the spectacle of an entire people in arms, ungratefully resisting as tyrants those whom they called in as preservers.

"So strange a political phenomenon has been profoundly examined by the Ministers undersigned. They have thoroughly sifted the sad history of the annexation of Santo Domingo, and have considered the question from every point of view; first by those of justice and right, and last of expediency. They have taken into account the reasons that might be alleged on the grounds of the national honour and respect, and have considered the most brilliant future possible as a triumph to be obtained only at an immense sacrifice; they have weighed the arguments based upon considerations of national and foreign policy, and finally, have carefully made the sad calculation of the numerous and precious lives Spain loses every day that this sterile contest is prolonged, and of the great amount of treasure it consumes.

"As a result of this laborious examination, Ministers are impressed with the conviction that the question of Santo Domingo has reached a stage which points the following deductions:

"That it was a delusion to believe that the Dominican people, as a whole, or in the great majority, desired, and above all, demanded, their annexation to Spain. That the struggle having become general, it does not now assume the character of a measure taken to subject a few discontented rebels, but of a war of conquest foreign to the spirit of Spanish policy. That

even by concentrating our efforts and sacrifices, in order to obtain a triumph, we should place ourselves in the sad position of holding the island entirely by a military occupation, full of difficulties, and not exempt from dangerous complications. That even under the most favourable hypothesis, that a portion of the population may shew themselves devoted to us after victory, the governmental system which would have to be established in those dominions must either be unsuitable to the usages and customs of the inhabitants, or very dissimilar to those of the other colonial provinces."

"For all these and other considerations, which the superior intelligence of the Cortes will supply, the Ministers, anxious to put an end to the useless sacrifices in men and money which the war in Santo Domingo imposes upon the nation, have the honour to propose, being duly authorised by Her Majesty, the following Bill:

"Art. 1. The royal decree of the 19th May, 1861, declaring the territory of the Dominican Republic re-incorporated with the monarchy, is repealed.

"Art. 2. The Government is authorised to take the necessary measures for the execution of this law, giving account of the same to the Cortes.

"The President of the Council,
"Duke of Valencia, &c."

SOUTHERN SLAVES AND NORTHERN SOLDIERS.

A recent number of the *Anti-Slavery Standard*, published under the heading of "Adventures of an escaped prisoner," the subjoined brief record of his escape from a Southern prison, which, from the light it throws upon the feelings of the Southern negroes towards the Federals, as well as towards their own "masters," will be found particularly interesting.

Lieut.-Col. Thomas J. Leigh, of the 71st New York, gives an account, in the *New York Times*, of his own escape, and that of Lieut. Tucker, Indiana, from the prison-stockade at Columbia, S. C., and of the aid they received from the slaves in the perilous voyage thence to Knoxville. He says:

"We travelled two nights, and got within three miles of Lexington, where we met a couple of negroes, and asked them the direction to Ninety-six Station. They pointed out to us our road, and added, that they were our friends, and when we wanted assistance we must crawl up to the fields about dusk, and wait for a field hand to come along; that they would furnish us with provisions, and never betray us. On the fifth night of our journey we were making northwest for Knoxville, Tenn. On the evening of the sixth day we ventured cautiously to a plantation, where we saw a large number of hogs in a field, running toward us as though they expected to be fed, and we judged from this that a negro would soon come and feed them. We were right in our conjecture, for in a few moments a negro came along with a basket on his head, with corn for the hogs. I called to him, and as he came up to

me I asked him if he would betray me. He said, 'No, the negroes in that part of the country did not do that sort of thing.' He said, 'You must be hungry?' I told him that was what I hailed him for. He said, 'You wait about an hour, and I'll have lots to eat.' He then started for the house, and in about an hour came back along with several other negroes, all carrying eatables—chicken, possum, rice, and shortcake—sufficient to last two days' journey. It commencing to rain, they advised us to lay still that night, and it would clear up before morning. We took their advice, and the negroes kept us company all night, and were very inquisitive about the state of affairs. They asked us if we thought Jeff. Davis was going to arm the negroes. They said their masters had made propositions to them, that if they would take up arms and fight for the South, they would get their freedom. I asked them if they would fight against the North. They replied, 'Only let them give us arms, and we will show them who we will fight for.' They said, 'We have now some arms hid; and they wanted to know if when they were formed into companies and regiments they could be together and talk together. I told them certainly. One negro remarked, 'My master offers me my freedom if I will take up arms, but I have a wife and five children, and he *does not offer them their freedom*; and we have come to the conclusion, that there is no use fighting for our masters and our freedom, when any children we may have are to be made slaves; and we have thought when we get arms, and are allowed to be together in regiments, we can demand freedom for our wives and children, and take it.' Another negro remarked that their masters did not dare to whip them now; that they were fed a little better than before the war, but they believed this was only to humour them and keep them still. We departed the next morning, wishing the negroes 'good luck,' and they replying, 'God bless you,' which is a very common expression in that part of the country. We pursued our journey without anything remarkable happening until we arrived in Pickens District, S. C., on the plantation of Dr. Earl, a notorious secessionist. Here we fell upon a large number of negroes of his plantation and others, discussing the arrival of Sherman at Augusta, Ga. It appears that they had secretly sent one of their number as a courier toward Hamburg, to get news about Sherman, intending, on the arrival of the courier, to make a general stampede into our lines. They counted on between 5000 and 8000 negroes who would go with them. These men treated us very nicely, and gave us a large supply of provisions. They told us to stop at the house of John W. Wilson, a strong Union man. The next evening, at 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ p. m., I knocked at Wilson's door. He came out with a revolver in his hand, and demanded to know who we were. We told him that we were escaped Union officers. He invited us into his house and treated us very kindly. He informed us of the re-election of Mr. Lincoln; and as we were about leaving him, went with us to the middle of the road, where we all gave three cheers for Old Abe. Being properly directed on our course, we reached Bumcomb County, in Western North Carolina. Here we saw a woman

in the field ploughing. She informed us that in that county, Henderson and Madison Counties, there were over 500 men who had been conscripted, her husband among the number, who, refusing to join the rebel army, lay hid in caves in the woods. The country is scoured by rebel details, who plunder the women and children, and shoot the men if found in the woods. In travelling over a district of 130 miles, across the mountains, a scene of the greatest destitution prevailed; women do the duties of men; the children have no shoes, and the country seemed to be given up to entire lawlessness. The remainder of our journey was performed solely under the guidance of women, and on the evening of the 13th of December we reached Knoxville, Tenn., having spent forty-four days in our perilous travels."

SLAVERY IN THE PAST.

Slavery has existed from the earliest times. The traffic in slaves spread from Chaldea into Egypt, Arabia, and all over the world. In Greece, in the time of Homer, all prisoners of war were treated as slaves. The Lacedemonian youth were trained to the practice of butchering slaves, and were from time to time let loose upon them, to show their proficiency in strategam and massacre: and once, for mere amusement, they killed three thousand of them in one night. Alexander, when he razed Thebes, sold the whole people, men, women, and children, for slaves, 335 years B. C. In Rome, slaves were often chained to the gate of a great man's house, to give admittance to the guests invited to the feast. By one of the laws of the XII. Tables, creditors could seize their insolvent debtors, and keep them in their homes till, by their services or labour, they had discharged the sum they owed. C. Pollio threw slaves that gave him offence into his fish ponds, B. C. 42. In England, the peasantry were so commonly sold for slaves in Saxon and Norman times, that children were sold in Bristol market like cattle for exportation. A law was enacted by Edward VI. that a runaway should be brought before two justices of the peace, and marked X with a hot iron on the breast, and adjudged the slave of him who brought him for two years. He was to take the slave, make him work, but give him no meat; and if he was absent for fourteen days, he was to be marked on the forehead or cheek by a hot iron with an S, and be his master's slave for ever. Rings of iron were sometimes put about the neck. The children of beggars were, in 1547, often made slaves. The African slave-trade was begun by the Portuguese in 1481. Cooper, in his letters on the slave-trade, says, that European avarice has caused the murder of 180,000,000 human beings, in endeavour-

ing to reduce them to slavery. The slave-trade was finally abolished in England by act of Parliament, March 25, 1807, and in the British possessions, August 1, 1834, by which 770,280 slaves became free. This was compensated emancipation — Parliament appropriated £20,000,000 sterling. The number of slaves in the United States in 1860 was 3,999, 283.

THE FULL VOTE FOR PRESIDENT.

THE following is from the New York *Tribune*:

"Since printing our table in the daily *Tribune* of December 24, we have received full returns from California and Nevada, except part of one county in the former State, leaving only Oregon to be estimated. The result will be found in the table below, taken from the *Tribune Almanac* for 1865, to be issued within a few days. We compare the vote with that of the same States in 1860, at which time Mr. Lincoln was in a minority of 139,570. He now has 407,381 majority, which shews a change in his favour equal to 546,951 votes. There are several counties, and a good many soldier's votes in Western States not included in our figures, the returns having arrived too late for the official count for electors, although, in a few instances, such votes were in time for us, and were reckoned in. We think the aggregate of those yet excluded would not amount to 25,000. We do not count the votes cast in Tennessee, where from 18,000 to 20,000 were cast for Lincoln, and less than 100 for McClellan. Louisiana did not vote directly, the Legislature choosing her electors. In Old Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Texas, there were no votes cast, regular or irregular.

PRESIDENT, 1864.		PRESIDENT, 1860.	
States.	Lincoln.	McClellan.	Lincoln.
California	58,698	42,255 ..	39,173
Connecticut	44,991	42,285 ..	43,742
Delaware	8155	8767 ..	3815
Illinois	189,496	158,730 ..	172,161
Indiana	150,238	130,233 ..	139,033
Iowa	89,75	49,596 ..	70,109
Kansas	16,441	3691 ..	—
Kentucky	26,529	61,478 ..	1361
Maine	61,003	44,211 ..	62,811
Maryland	40,153	32,739 ..	2294
Massachusetts	126,742	48,745 ..	106,533
Michigan	83,352	67,370 ..	88,400
Minnesota	25,60	17,375 ..	22,069
Missouri	71,076	3,628 ..	17,028
Nevada	9826	6594 ..	—
New Hampshire	36,100	32,871 ..	37,519
New Jersey	60,723	68,024 ..	58,324
New York	368,735	361,986 ..	362,646
Ohio	264,975	205,557 ..	231,610
Oregon (estim.) ..	10,000	8000 ..	5270
Pennsylvania	296,391	276,318 ..	268,030
Rhode Island	13,92	8470 ..	12,244
Vermont	42,419	13,321 ..	33,808
West Virginia	23,152	10,438 ..	44,947
Wisconsin	83,458	65,884 ..	86,110
Total.....	2,203,943	1,796,562 ..	1,864,523
Per cent ..	55.9	44.91 ..	4820
Lincoln's maj... 407,381		Anti-Linc. maj. 139,570	5180

"Whole vote in 1860, 3,868,616; in 1864, 4,000,105; increase in the same States, 131,889. The entire vote for President in 1860, including all the Southern States, was 4,680,193."

DR. LIVINGSTONE ON HIS AFRICAN EXPEDITION.

A crowded meeting was held in the Mansfield Town-hall on Tuesday night, the 4th ult., under the auspices of the Committee of the Mechanics' Institution, at which Dr. Livingstone, the renowned African traveller, and Dr. Kirk, naturalist to the Zambesi expedition, who are now on a visit to Newstead Abbey, were present. Mr. W. F. WEBBE presided.

Dr. LIVINGSTONE, on rising, was received with loud cheers. He said: — If you look on the map of Africa you will observe that it contains an almost unbroken and simple coast-line, and that no branches or arms of the sea run into it, and this probably is the reason why Africa has remained so long unexplored. The sea is the great highway of nations, and Africa, having no seas running into it, remained comparatively unknown until within the last twenty years. Previous to that time a great number of attempts were made to get into the centre of the country, but they were unsuccessful. My object in going to that country was to endeavour to introduce the Gospel into the country north of Cape Colony, and I established a mission at Kolobeng, the place where I had the pleasure of becoming acquainted with Colonel Webb, who hunted in that country. We were troubled with emigrants, boars, who had a great dislike to England, and who were determined to shut up the country, so that no Englishman should go into it; and, in order to prevent my going on with my teaching, they came and attacked us, and killed or carried away captive all our servants, plundered my house of every thing, and took away all Mr. Webb's provisions. My friends at that time advised me to go south, but I thought it was better to go north. The desert of Kaliari was between us and the centre of the country, and through that desert none had then passed. An expedition was once formed for the purpose of exploring it under Sir Andrew Smith, and they went into it a long way, but they found no water, and barely escaped back again with their lives. I became acquainted with some people who had gone through it, and from their information we determined not to go through it, but round at one end. This we did, and so found the river Zaire, and 300 miles up we came to the lake Nyassa. People once thought that the interior of Africa was a vast sandy desert, into which rivers ran and were lost; but we found it to be a very different country. It was not so entirely given up to the influences of the torrid zone that none but salamanders, and such like creatures, could live in it. We found it a fertile country, in which the inhabitants were very anxious to get into communication with white people; and I therefore proposed to them that we should find a way to the sea on the west side. They had never heard of such a thing as the sea on that side, they thought it was only to be found on the south. But they were willing to try, and so twenty-seven of us set out on the expedition, making oxen do all the waggon work. We travelled through a well-watered country, and were crossing streams almost every day.

We also passed through dense forests of gigantic timber, and among people who had never seen a white man before. They had heard of them, and had even seen some of those prints which they make in Manchester, which they supposed were the work of fairies, or some beings not human in their character. All they had heard of us was that we were white, and that we came out of the sea. My men were rather fond of showing me as a "real white man," who had come out of the sea, and then pointed to my hair as offering a proof that it had been straightened down by the action of water. When we got to the sea, they were persuaded of the truth of the assertion, and they told the natives that we were going to take them on board a ship and eat them. The idea throughout Africa is that we are cannibals; but I think you will agree with me that we are not so fond of black pudding as all that. This idea of the natives makes the slave trade more painful than ever, because when the slave is going down to the sea he feels persuaded that he is going to be eaten; and when food is given to them they suppose it is only for the purpose of fattening them and making them a more delicious dish for the white man—thus adding oppression of mind to a cruel oppression of body. From there we came back to the Makololo country, taking with us a good supply of beads and calico, but when we got to our destination we had lost all, and only possessed a few new ideas. Then we tried the east coast, with the view of finding a path into the sea down the Zambesi river. In the interior, this river is as wide as the Thames at Richmond, and a number of branches run into it before it reaches the east coast. The people among whom we travelled, who had not been engaged in the slave trade, were civil, kind, and not at all the savages which we imagined them to be. They imagine us to be cannibals, and we imagine them to be savages; but it is all a great mistake. These people are generally agriculturists. There are very few who devote themselves entirely to hunting. Amongst them we find blacksmiths, and smelters of iron from the ore, who also forge hoes, knives, handles, and shears. I took a sheep bell down to the Cape with me, and the people there would not believe that it was made by black men, it was welded so well: but I saw them make it. They are also good coppersmiths, and smelt copper from malachite. They cultivate cotton, not in a large way, but as our forefathers cultivated wheat—in little patches, when each family had its little patch. So they have little patches of cotton, and the men spin and weave it. In almost every village persons can be seen sitting weaving and spinning cotton. They also cultivate a great many different kinds of grain, and the soil in many parts is exceedingly rich. In the desert of Kaliari it is nearly all sand, but in the country beyond the land is very fertile, and some vegetables attain a gigantic growth, as for example, the bean. The people also are exceedingly fond of trade, and they travel great distances in order to exchange the productions they raise for something else. There is an abundance of tobacco, and they are fond of enjoying the fumes of that favourite weed. Now, finding the people so far civilized,

anxious to trade, and skilful in the art of cultivation, it appeared to me that their disposition to trade and work might be turned to advantage, both to themselves and to this country. We saw that on the west coast, the efforts of our Government cruisers had been very successful indeed in suppressing the slave trade, and giving encouragement to Missionaries and traders, and in this respect Lord Palmerston's policy has been attended with considerable success. But we found that the ports on the east side were shut up by the Portuguese Government. The Zambesi river seemed to be a fair way into the interior, and the Portuguese were quite willing, and indeed professed themselves anxious, that we should do what we could to bring the different tribes to a state of civilisation, and a better acquaintance with their fellow-man. This was the object of the Zambesi expedition, and with that idea we ascended that river; but finding some cataracts a little above the Tete, we were unable to go to the Makololo country as we intended. So we went by the Shirwa river, and 300 miles up we came to a lake with the same name, with brackish water, but with plenty of fish and hippopotami. Three hundred miles further we came to the Lake Nyassa, and we sailed up that lake 280 miles. It is a lake of fresh water, and surrounded by mountains. When we ascended these mountains, we found that they only formed the edge of a vast table land, 3000 feet above the level of the sea. Here it was quite cool and pleasant, although down in the lowlands it was usually swampy and very unhealthy. It was on one of these hills that the late Bishop Mackenzie endeavoured to establish a mission; and I have little doubt that, had he been spared, or had he taken a little more care of himself, he would have been eminently successful in his work. He had a large body of liberated captives at his disposal, whom he could have raised to be members of one Christian family. While this was going on in the south, there were other expeditions going on in the north. Captains Burton, Speke, and Grant went north, and discovered the Lake Tanganyika, and going on, Captain Speke discovered the Lake Nyanza, which is believed to be the main source of the Nile. Whether it is really so cannot, perhaps, be positively stated, but until some other information comes to the contrary, we must take Captain Speke's account as correct, for he alone has had the bravery to go there. So far as I am concerned, I am only glad that one of our own countrymen made the discovery. The continent of Africa is of such a vast size, that it is difficult to give any accurate idea of it to strangers. There are a great many different kinds of soil; and the description to be given of the country depends upon what portion of the country you refer to. On some of the hills ice and frost may be seen; in one place grain is planted so plentifully, that it can be obtained at the cheapest rate, while in another part food could not be obtained for either love or money. Thus it was very difficult to give information to emigrants. A farm at Cape Colony meant various sizes, from three to 30,000 acres, with a good fountain somewhere in the district, without which the land would be of no use. 100 acres of land without water would be found of less value than those

little plots upon which thrifty railway servants contrive to plant half-a-dozen potatoes. The best way for an emigrant to act is to leave his money in the bank, and go up the country obtaining knowledge for himself. In any place where the rainfall amounts on the average to thirty-five inches per annum, we can cultivate without irrigation, but the crops, if allowed to remain, run rapidly to seed. Cotton will go on for three years without re-planting. The crops are of good quality, and are never injured by frost. Indigo plants reach the height of a man, and sugar in some places is as prolific without guano as it is in the Mauritius with. After alluding to the tempting but delusive offer of land at a low rate which the Portuguese Government made, but which land really belonged to a Zulu tribe, who regularly exacted tribute from the Portuguese, the doctor went on to notice the labour supply question. He said, whenever you come to a slave colony you always find labour dear. It is so in the neighbourhood of the Zambezi and the Shirwa; because all the labour that can be obtained is exported into slavery, and so (like the goose and the golden eggs) there is nobody left to the necessary labour at home. A gentleman has been lately endeavouring to prove in the papers that Slavery is the right sort of thing for us, and indeed for all the world. Well, now take the article of coal. In this country there is considerable difficulty in working it; you have to go to immense depths, and make a great outlay in machinery. But in Africa and by the Zambezi we find a very extensive coal field, which we believe to be hundreds of miles in extent, and to extend into the interior. The late Don Pedro V. employed a small steamer and a lot of slaves to get some of this coal, and the officer in charge gave us some accurate information as to the expense thus incurred, and we found it very much dearer to have the work done by slaves than by free English labour. We could carry coals to the mouth of the Zambezi and undersell the Portuguese, who had only to bring the coal down the river. The effect of slave labour upon the slave is also worthy of remark, for they, poor fellows, do the best they can, and that is never to do anything if they can help it. It is very natural, and I should do the same myself. But when we hire them by the month they are the most obliging and civil servants possible. Slavery is altogether a great mistake. Dr. Livingstone concluded by describing some of the other productions and characteristics of Africa; by protesting against that narrowness of mind which, while continually crying out, "Charity begins at home," neither exercised the virtue there nor anywhere else; and by urging the claims of Africa upon this country.

Dr. KIRK, who accompanied the expedition as botanist and naturalist, afterwards addressed the meeting, which was protracted until a late hour.

SHERMAN AND THE GEORGIAN NEGROES.

THE following extract is from a letter in a late Number of the *Anti-Slavery Standard*, giving some interesting particulars relating

to the slaves whom he fell in with in the course of his recent march through Georgia to the sea-coast. The facts are instructing, and point to a result very different from the one anticipated by the Southern leaders, and in the event of their arming the slave population.

SHERMAN'S MARCH THROUGH GEORGIA—HIS EXPERIENCE WITH THE NEGROES.

"Sherman, in his march from Atlanta to Savannah, gathered no less than 15,000 slaves! An officer who furnishes an account of the expedition for the *Evening Post*, gives the following information respecting this class of the Georgian population :

" 'Milledgeville, Nov. 24, 1864.

" We are in full possession of the capital of the State of Georgia, and without firing a gun in its conquest. On Friday last the Legislature, which had been in session, hearing of our approach, hastily decamped, without any adjournment. The legislative panic spread amongst the citizens to such an extent as to depopulate the place, except of a few old gentlemen and ladies, and the negroes; the latter welcoming our approach with ecstatic exclamations of joy: "Bress de Lord! tanks be to Almighty God, the Yanks is come; de day of Jubilee hab arribed!" and then accompanied their words with rather embarrassing hugs, which those nearest the side walks received liberally."

" Near Tonville Station, on the Georgia Central Railroad, Nov. 27.

" Just before his entrance into Milledgeville, General Sherman encamped on one of the plantations of Howell Cobb. It was a coincidence that a Macon paper, containing Cobb's address to the Georgians as general-commanding, was received the same day. This plantation was the property of Cobb's wife, who was a Demar. I do not know that this Cobb ever claimed any great reputation as a man of piety and many virtues, but I could not help contrasting the call upon his fellow-citizens to "rise and defend their liberties, homes, &c., from the step of the invader, to burn and destroy every thing in his front, assail him on all sides," and all that, with his own conduct here, and the wretched condition of his negroes and their quarters.

" We found his granaries well filled with corn and wheat, part of which was distributed and eaten by our animals and men. A large supply of syrup, made from sorghum (which we have found at nearly every plantation on our march) was stored in an out-house. This was also disposed of to the soldiers and the poor decrepid negroes, which this humane, liberty-loving Major-General left to die in this place a few days ago. Becoming alarmed, Cobb sent to that place, and removed all the able-bodied mules, horses, cows, and slaves. He left here some fifty old men, cripples, and women and children, with clothing scarce covering their nakedness, with little or no food, and without means of procuring any. We found them cowering over the fire-places of their miserable huts, where the wind whirled through the crevices between the logs, frightened at the approach of

the Yankees, who, they had been told, would kill them. A more forlorn, neglected set of human beings I never saw.

"General Sherman distributed to the negroes with his own hands the provisions left here, and assured them that we were their friends, and they need not be afraid that we were foes. One old man answered him, 'I spose dat you'se true; but massa, you'se'll go way to-morrow, and anudder white man will come.' He had never known any thing but persecutions and fears from the white man, and had been kept in such ignorance of us that he did not dare put faith in any white man.

"This terrorism, which forms so striking a feature of Slavery, has had marked illustrations ever since we left Atlanta. The negroes were told that as soon as we get them into our clutches they were put into the front of the battle, and we killed them if they did not fight; that we threw the women and children into the Chattahoochie, and when the buildings were burned in Atlanta, we filled them with negroes to be roasted and devoured by the flames. These stories, which appear so absurd to us, are not too extravagant for the simple, untutored minds of the negroes. They are easily frightened, and full of superstition. In most any other instance, such bloody tales would have frightened them entirely out of our sight to the woods and other hiding-places, but they assert, with much earnestness and glee, that, 'Massa can't come dat over we; we know'd a heap better. What for de Yankees want to hurt black men? Massa hates de Yankees, and he's no fren' ter me; so we am de Yankee bi's frens.' Very simple logic that, but it is sufficient for the negroes.

"Near Covington, one Judge Harris has a large plantation; before we arrived it was well stocked; I can't answer for its condition afterwards. A jollier set of negroes I never saw than his were when the blue coats came along. Horrible stories of their cruelty to the negroes were also told by their masters to frighten them, but the negroes never put one word of faith in them. I asked Judge Harris's head man, 'Well, how do you like the Yankees?' 'Like 'em! bully, bully, bully. I'se wanted to see 'em long time; heard a heap 'bout 'em. Say, Sally, dese here be gentlemen dats passing.' A compliment to our soldiers, which they, no doubt, would have appreciated could they have heard Mr. Lewis.

"'Yass, sar, I'se hope de Lord will prosper dem, and Mr. Sherman.'

"'Why do you hope the Lord will help the Yankee?'

"'Because I tinks, and we'se all tinks, dat you'se down here in our interests.'

"'Your about right there. Did you ever hear that President Lincoln freed all the slaves?' 'No, sar, I never heard sich a ting; de white folks nebber talk fore black men; dey mighty free from dat.' In other parts of the South the negroes I have seen seem to understand there is a man named Lincoln, who had the power to free them, and had exercised it. We have reached here a stratum of ignorance upon that subject. All knowledge of that nature has not only been kept from the blacks, but only a few of the whites are well informed. The lieutenant commanding

the escort of General Sherman was born and has always lived in Milledgeville, is an officer in the First Alabama cavalry regiment, tells me that he never saw a copy of the *New York Tribune* until he joined our army. His history, by the way, is a most interesting one, and will one day be worth the telling. His adherence to the Union grew out of his natural abhorrence to Slavery, whose horrors he had witnessed from childhood. His name is Snelling. A young man of good education, of high integrity, simple-hearted, brave, and has been most useful to the cause of his country.

"General Sherman invites all able-bodied negroes (others could not make the march) to join the column, and he takes especial pleasure when they join the procession, on some occasions telling them they are free, that Massa Lincoln has given them their liberty, and that they can go where they please; that if they earn their freedom they should have it, but that Massa Lincoln had given it to them anyhow. They all seem to understand that the proclamation of freedom had made them free, and I have met but few instances where they did not say they expected the Yankees were coming down some time or other, and very generally they are possessed with the idea that we are fighting for them, and that their freedom is the object of the war. This notion they got from hearing the talk of their masters.

"'Stick in dar,' was the angry exclamation of one of a party of negroes to another, who was asking too many questions of the officer who had given them permission to join the column. 'Stick in dar, its all right; we'se gwine along, we'se free.'

"Another replied to a question, 'Oh, yass, massa, de people hereabouts were heap frightened when dey heard you'se coming; dey dusted out yer sudden.'

"Pointing to the Atlanta and Augusta railroad, which had been destroyed, the question was asked, 'It took a longer time to build this railroad than it does to destroy it?'

"'I would think it did, massa; in dat ar woods over dar is burid ever so many black men who were killed, sar, yes, killed, a working on dat road—whipped to death. I seed 'em, sar.'

"Does the man live here who beat them?"

"Oh, no, sar; he's dun gone long time."

"The most pathetic scenes occur upon our line of march daily and hourly. Thousands of negro women join the column, some carrying household truck; others, and many of them there are, who bear the heavy burden of children in their arms, while older boys and girls plod by their sides. All these women and children are ordered back, heart-rending though it may be to refuse them liberty. They won't go. One begs that she may go to see her husband and children at Savannah. Long years ago she was forced from them and sold. Another has heard that her boy was in Macon, and she is 'done gone with grief goin' on four years.'

"But the majority accept the advent of the Yankees as the fulfilment of the millennial prophecies. The 'day of jubilee,' the hope and prayer of a lifetime, has come. They cannot be made to understand that they must remain behind, and they are satisfied only when General

Sherman tells them—as he does every day—that we shall come back for them some time, and that they must be patient until the proper hour of deliverance comes.

“The other day a woman with a child in her arms was working her way along amongst the teams and crowds of cattle and horsemen. An officer called to her kindly, ‘Where are you going, aunty?’

“She looked up into his face with a hopeful, beseeching look, and replied:

“‘Ise gwine whar you’s gwine, massa.’

“At a house a few miles from Milledgeville we halted for an hour. In an old hut I found a negro and his wife, both of them over sixty years old. In the talk which ensued nothing was said which led me to suppose that either of them was anxious to leave their mistress, who, by the way, was a sullen, cruel-looking woman, when all at once the old negress straightened herself up, and her face, which a moment before was almost stupid in its expression, assumed a fierce, almost devilish, aspect.

“Pointing her shining black finger at the old man crouched in the corner of the fire-place, she hissed out: ‘What for you sit dar; you spouse I wait sixty years for nutten? Don’t you see de door open? Ise follow my child; I not stay. Yes, nodder day I goes long wid dese people; yes, sar, I walk till I drop in my tracks.’ A more terrible sight I never beheld. I can think of nothing to compare with it except Charlotte Cushman’s Meg Merriles. Rembrant only could have painted the scene, with its dramatic surroundings.

“It was near this place that several factories were burned. It was odd to see the delight of the negroes at the destruction of places known only as task-houses, where they had groaned under the lash.

“A significant feature of this campaign, which has not before been mentioned in this diary, received a marked illustration yesterday. Except in a few instances, private residences have not been destroyed. Yesterday we passed the plantation of a Mr. Stubbs. The house, cotton-gin, press, corn ricks, stables, everything that could burn, was in flames, and in the dooryard lay the dead bodies of several bloodhounds, that had been used to track and pull down negroes and our escaped prisoners. And wherever our army has passed, every thing in the shape of a dog has been killed. The soldiers and officers are determined that no more flying fugitives, white men or negroes, shall be followed by track-hounds that come within reach of their powder and ball.

ITEMS.

THE ILLINOIS SLAVE CODE.—Illinois has an infamous black code, enacted in the depth of the servility of the democratic party to Slavery, which makes it a Slave State, without any of the gains of the wrong, but wholly for the benefit of the Southern slave-trader. These laws are even more inhuman and oppressive than the codes of the Slave States of the South. The savage despots of Africa and Asia are now standing similes, but we doubt if any thing so atrocious as the Illinois black code was ever put into written law in any hereditary despotism.

We hope the new legislature will begin by purging the statutes of this disgrace. Ohio once had a code called the “Black Laws,” containing some of the mildest features of the Illinois laws, but, in obedience to the popular sentiment, all the democratic members of the legislature united with the “Free Soilers,” and abolished it many years ago. All of this inhuman legislation, which makes freedom a crime, is disappearing before the civilization of the age, and it is time that the black code of Illinois, the most atrocious of all, were expunged. In the South the human slave-hounds are despised. Yet this code makes the people of Illinois slave-hounds for the South. These laws forbid blacks to live in the State, except upon certain cruel conditions. They impose a fine of 500 dollars for harbouring, hiring, or giving sustenance to black persons who have not been legally permitted. A citizen of Illinois may have his property confiscated for giving a loaf of bread to a poor or fugitive black person. They deny to a person claimed as a slave every form of trial. They fine any person who shall bring any one into the State in order to emancipate him. They exclude coloured witnesses in suits against white persons, thus giving the whites the power to wrong and outrage them with impunity. They provide that any coloured person found in the State, not having the legal permit, shall be taken up and an owner advertised for, and if none appear, the coloured person shall be sold into Slavery for a year; and they provide that the masters may whip these slaves for certain offences, and for refusing to work—as if to go into every detail of the slave system, they declare all contracts void between master and servant. These laws are in direct conflict with the constitution of the United States, which declares that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law. They are a nullification of the fundamental principle of our Government. They could not have been enacted except where the judgments of men had fled to brutish beasts. This black cloud has now been lifted from the understanding of the Northern people, and all the relics of the barbarism which was committed during that eclipse of manhood should now be speedily buried out of our sight.—*Cincinnati Gazette.*

ACTUAL PRICES OF SLAVES IN THE SOUTH.—The *Charlotte (North Carolina) Bulletin* of a recent date says:

“At a public sale of slaves the following prices were realized: Girl, eleven years old, 4700 dols.; woman, forty years old, 3600 dols.; girl, sixteen years old, 4700 dols.; man, twenty-five years old, 5700 dols.; man, forty years old, 3800 dols.; man, twenty-four years old, 6200 dols. The first named (the girl of eleven years) we are told, was the only likely negro sold. The rest were very inferior looking.

In the legislature of Georgia the other day, Judge Stephens introduced a Bill authorizing the treasurer of the State to pay members of the legislature at the rate of gold—which, he said, was “six dollars in gold equal to one hundred and fifty in currency.” This, then, is the recognized rate; and at this, the “man, twenty-four years old,” who brought the highest price at the sale in Charlotte, was really sold for just 248

dollars. Before Davis and the slaveholders began their war upon the Union, an able-bodied man of twenty-four years sold in the South readily for 1500 dollars. The difference between 1500 and 248 dollars should be charged by the slaveholders to their own folly.—*New York Post.*

A SOUTHERN SENTIMENT.—Senator Brown, of Mississippi—a Senator now in the Confederate Congress—has been good enough to declare: “I would spread the blessings of slave-labour, like the religion of our divine Master, to the utmost ends of the earth. Wicked and rebellious as the Yankees are, I would extend it even to them.”

ONE RESULT OF FREE LABOUR.—The plan of paying regular wages to freed men sometimes brings about curious circumstances. A private in one of the negro regiments guarding the rebel prisoners at Point Lookout, Maryland, has received a letter from the daughter of his former master, suggesting that as he is now earning money for himself, it would be a very pretty thing for him to send the family five dollars, of which they were in great want, and, as for herself, she would be much obliged to him if he would give her enough money to buy her a new gown!

Reviews.

The Relations of the British and Brazilian Governments. London: Chapman and Hall, 193, Piccadilly, 1865.

THE above is the title of a pamphlet, which, within the compass of fifty-eight pages, sets forth in a very clear manner, the position of affairs between the governments respectively of Brazil and Great Britain. It is published anonymously, but is evidently the production of one thoroughly versed in Brazilian politics, who, if he do not write from personal experience of Brazil and the Brazilians, has access to parliamentary and other documents which enable him to give his opinions with the authority of accurate knowledge. A considerable portion of the pamphlet, to us the most interesting, is devoted to the anti-slave-trade and anti-slavery portions of the question. It is clearly shewn that the extinction of the Brazilian slave-trade was due, not to the arbitrary and undignified proceedings under the Aberdeen Act, but to the determination of the Government to suppress the traffic at any cost; and that efforts are actually being made to introduce measures of a tendency to stop the coast traffic, as also to affect Slavery itself. The writer points out the exceeding difficulties that beset the *emancipado* question, and demonstrates to what extent our government is responsible for them, through its neglect to stipulate, in the Convention of 1826, not simply for the liberation of the slaves discharged from slavery by the operation of the Mixed Commission, but for the precise mode in which their liberty was to be ultimately

secured. He considers that our Government is wholly to blame for the admitted inefficacy of the Convention as regards this class of slaves, and we are disposed to be of his opinion. The Convention presumed pro-slavery tendencies on the part of Brazil, and anti-slavery sympathy and jealousy on the part of Great Britain. It was scarcely to be expected that the former would go beyond acceding to the simple terms of the Convention, and take the initiative in measures to place the *emancipado* out of reach, especially considering how deeply interested almost every one was in Brazil, in consolidating the institution. It was, however, rational to anticipate that the other, the anti-slavery contracting party, would take all the requisite precautions for ensuring the freedom of its *protégés*, leaving nothing to accident, but forestalling, with the activity and jealous instinct of a real interest in them, the shifts and subterfuges almost inevitable, and likely to be resorted to by parties interested in defeating the object of the Convention. Not to do this was a serious oversight, fairly chargeable more to the British negotiators than to the Brazilian.

The injustice of retaining the Aberdeen Act, as also the objections to it in principle, are admirably set forth, and we entirely concur in the writer's views. So many statesmen of eminence have declared themselves opposed to its retention, now the alleged reason for its enactment has no existence, that we may reasonably hope the Act will be repealed without delay, and a fruitful source of irritation on the part of the Brazilian nation be removed.

Other subjects of difference between the two governments are also disposed of in the same summary yet conclusive manner, and no unprejudiced man can arise from a perusal of this pamphlet without feeling that the British Government is much to blame, if diplomatic relations with Brazil have been and remain suspended.

It was not possible to treat of the matters touched upon in this treatise, without mentioning Mr. Christie, lately British Minister at Rio, and the author of a series of letters on Brazilian matters, which appeared in the *Daily News* during the last autumn. Mr. Christie appears to oppose the abrogation of the Aberdeen Act, for some personal reason, all the evidence he adduces in his official correspondence respecting the cessation of the slave-trade being a strong argument in favour of an opposite policy. The author of the pamphlet under review shews that Mr. Christie's hostility to the Brazilians is of comparatively recent date, and that his course in those matters out of which the differences between their government and our's have arisen, was through-

out uncandid and mischievous. We shall do justice to Mr. Christie's book, whenever it reaches us, and may be allowed to express the regret that any ability he possesses should have been directed to create and stimulate international hostility, rather than good feeling and a closer intimacy.

Slavery in the United States of North America; A Lecture delivered in Liverpool, December, 1861.

The Negro, North and South: the Status of the Coloured Population in the Northern and Southern States of America compared.

Popular Fallacies relating to the American Question. A Lecture delivered in November, 1863.

A Review of the American Struggle in its Military and Political Aspects, from the inauguration of President Lincoln, 4th March, 1861, till his re-election, 8th November, 1864.

The above are published in London by WHITTAKER and Co.; in Liverpool by HENRY YOUNG, South Castle street; and in Manchester by ABEL HEYWOOD.

Mr. Robert Trimble of Liverpool renders excellent service to the anti-slavery cause in issuing the pamphlets above-named. An earnest abolitionist, he does his work thoroughly, and the series nearly exhausts the subject; in fact, does so quite in so far as its most important elements are concerned. No essential points are overlooked, and many respecting which many worthy anti-slavery men entertain, or have expressed misgivings, are reviewed with felicitous clearness, and set forth in an equally lucid manner. Those who run may read.

We regret to be compelled, owing to the limited space at our disposal this month, to confine ourselves to a mere commendation of this series of pamphlets. We prefer doing so, however, to allowing four weeks more to pass by without noticing them. They are issued, three of them at 2d. each, and one at 4d., a price that places them within the reach of everybody, and we hope they may have, what they merit, a wide circulation.

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